l;Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

561 [304] [582] [584] [589]

Dorobo men pass through three stages: *petik*, uncircumcised boys; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *apaiinisk*, elders. Boys are circumcised between the ages of 15 and 18 years, and may marry at any time after circumcision when their circumstances allow. Some men in fact never marry at all, but live alone, getting occasional help from women in the settlement, and depending for sexual satisfaction on surreptitious affairs with wives of age-mates. Women are first *tipik*, girls; then *yoonik*, married women; and finally, when they begin to look old, *engilokisisk*, old women. Girls marry soon after they have been circumcised.

Kinship and Behaviour

602 [171]

The existing Dorobo relationship system, *tiket*, is structurally similar to that of the Nandi, and uses a number of Nandi terms; but it is less regular and includes in the *tiliet* a larger number of persons than does the Nandi. Moreover, the collective term *macokor* (which I did not find in use as a true relationship term in Nandi) is used by the Dorobo as the proper term for a number of people terminologically differentiated by the Nandi.

● 601

Within the *tiliet* the chief terms are: In the third ascending generation, all males are *macokor* and all females *makikat;* in the second ascending generation, all males are *kuko* or *akui* and all females *koko*.

In the first ascending generation, the terms are: *papa* = father, father's brothers, and mother's sister's husband; *oiyo* = mother, mother's sisters, and father's brother's wife; *pukot* = father's sister; *konyit* = father's sister's husband; *mama* = mother's brother and his wife. Terms used by women are *sindet* = father's sister and father's brother's wife; *apulaiyo* = mother's brother; *oiyo* = mother's brother's wife; and *konyit* = mother's sister's husband.

In a man's own generation, his brothers, sisters, and mother's sister's son and daughter are *kesenda;* mother's brother's son and daughter, *mama;* and the son and daughter of his father's brother and father's sister are *macokor*. Women's terms which differ from these are: *apulaiyo* = mother's brother's son and daughter; *oiyo* = mother's sister's son and daughter.

In the first descending generation, *apas* includes son, daughter, brother's son and daughter; *mama*, sister's son and daughter, and mother's brother's son and daughter; *macokor*, father's brother's children's children, and father's sister's children's children. In the second descending generation, both sexes are *akui*, except mother's brother's children's children's children, which are *mama;* and mother's sister's children's children's children, *kesenda*.

Among affines, wife's father is *pamogo;* wife's mother, *poker;* wife's brother, *konyit* and his wife, *poker;* wife's sister *pukot* and her husband, *kipukotiot;* wife's brother's son and wife's sister's son, *apas;* wife's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter, *pakuo*. Husband's father is *pakuo* and his mother, *poker;* husband's brother *konyit* and his wife, *sindet;* husband's sister, *kamati* and her husband, *poker;* husband's brother's children, *lakuet;* and husband's sister's children, *apulaiyo*.

602 604

In the *tiliet* it is the *father's brother* who stands out and occupies the special place in family life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi; not a few Dorobo did not know their mother's brother's name. Owing to the nature of Dorobo life, the father's brother is continually in contact with his brother's children, and his relations with his nephews are even closer than those of the Nandi *mama* with his nephews.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

II. Kinship

Kinship is the formal organization of relationship for social purposes, and depends for its effectiveness on a relationship system, which consists of a mode of naming relatives and is the framework of social organization. The Dorobo relationship terms show much resemblance to those of the Nandi, but there are certain significant differences, though (as among the Nandi) all those who call each other by relationship terms form the *tilist* or relationship system, which is an exogamous behaviour group, for (with one theoretical exception to be mentioned later) nobody may marry a person whom he or she calls by a relationship term. It will be seen that though terms exist for the 3rd ascending generation, there are none for the 3rd descending generation, for the father's father's father has existed, and thus may need a term; but the son's son's son may never exist in a person's lifetime, and so no term is needed.

It would seem that we are dealing with a non-Nilotic relationship system modified by contact with Nandi, as the result of which some of the original terms have been displaced by others of Nandi and also of Masae origin. The relationships comprised within the *tilist*, covering six generations, are as follows:

1. The Third Ascending Generation

(man & woman speaking)

This generation comprises the father's father's father, the father's father's mother, the father's mother's father, the father's mother's mother, the mother's father's father, the mother's father's mother, the mothers mother's father, and the mother's mother's mother. The males in this generation are all called *macokor*, and the females all *makikat*. The word *macokor* is found in Nandi applied to the son's son and daughter, and in Dorobo also to the father's brother's children, father's sister's children, and their children. The etymology of the word is uncertain: we may compare it with the Luo word *cokore*, 'collect', which might give the term the significance of "a collection of relatives". However unsatisfactory such a term may seem, it was the term used by the Dorobo. The females in this generation are all called *makikat*, a term not used elsewhere by the Dorobo, and not found in Nandi at all, though it may be derived from the Nandi *makiikat*, "they are not greeted", because though their names may be known they are seldom alive in a person's lifetime, and therefore he does not greet them.

2. The Second Ascending Generation

(man & woman speaking)

This comprises the father's parents and the mother's parents. Males are *kuko* or *akui*, females *koko*. The latter is used only of this generation, but *akui* is applied by courtesy to father's father's brother and sister and to mother's

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

[601] father's brother and sister, of the same generation, and also to their children. *Ahui* will be found again in the second descending generation. The corresponding Nandi forms are *ingokut*, *ingokot*, *kuko*, *koko*, and *akui*. The last is the same as the Masae (*ni-*)*akui*, father's father. *Koko* means 'old woman', and is related to the Masae (*eng-*)*oko*. Women use *kuko* and *koko* for father's and mother's parents.

3. The First Ascending Generation

(man speaking)

In this generation we have *papa* which covers the father, father's brother, and mother's sister's husband; and *eiyo*, which includes the mother, mother's sister, and father's brother's wife (though mother's sister is sometimes called *pükine*). *Mama* includes mother's brother and mother's brother's wife. The father's sister is *pukut*, a term applied also to the wives of father's brother's son, father's sister's son, brother, and mother's sister's son, as well as to wife's sister, all in the speaker's generation, and implying that the women so called are in the same category as the father's sister, i. e. one of respect. The father's sister's husband is called *konyit*, which is applied also to the husband of the father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, sister, mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and to the wife's brother. It is therefore the male equivalent of *pukut*. The word *papa* is so wide-spread that its use is not significant. *Eiyo* = Nandi *eiyo*, Masae *yeiyo*, a word found with this meaning in most of the Nandi dialects. *Pukut* does not occur in Nandi or Masae, and may be a relic of the original Dorobo terminology. *Konyit* = Nandi *konyit*, 'honour', and may be compared with the Masae phrase *e-sindasi e-anyit*, "respected sister in law" (brother's wife and wife's sister), for *anyit* is the etymological equivalent of *konyit*.

(woman speaking)

Papa and *eiyo* are used for father and mother, and *papa* also = father's brother, and *eiyo* = mother's sister. But father's sister and father's brother's wife are called *sindet*; mother's brother is *apulaiyo* and his wife *eiyo*; while father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband are *konyit*. *Apulaiyo* is from the Masae *apule* = 'mother's brother' (woman speaking), a word formed from *apa*, (same meaning, man speaking). *Konyit*, it may be noted, is a common term for a male relative by marriage, and is used by men as well as women.

4. Own Generation

(man speaking)

In this generation a man's relatives are grouped in three classes: (1) *Kesenda*, which comprises his brother and sister, and his mother's sister's [605] son and daughter; (2) *Mama*, his mother's brother's son and daughter;

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

and (3) *Macokor*, the sons and daughters of both his father's brother and his father's sister. There is thus a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, and a divergence from the Nandi usage. That the mother's brother's children count as *mama* may be due to Nandi influence, for, as we shall see, the mother's brother is not the relative of importance to the Dorobo that he is to the Nandi. *Kesenda* is a word meaning 'brother, sister' which occurs in other Nandi dialects, though not in Nandi itself, and may possibly be derived from the verb *kesen* 'carry a child', it being one of the duties of a child, especially of a girl, to carry about its small brother or sister.

(woman speaking)

According to feminine terminology, these relatives are grouped in four classes, with a change of term: (1) *Kesenda*, brother and sister; (2) *Apulaiyo*, mother's brother's children; (3) *Macokor*, the children of both father's brother and father's sister; (4) *Eiyo*, the children of mother's sister.

5. The First Descending Generation

(man speaking)

The children of a man and his brothers are all called *apas*; but the children of his sister and of his mother's brother's children are *mama*, his sister's son having also the alternative term of *weirit ap cepto*, which means 'son of the girl', and is applied in Nandi to father's sister's son who is otherwise called *mama*. The Dorobo grouping which places the sister's children in the mother's brother's category is unusual and there is here a wide divergence from the Nandi rule.

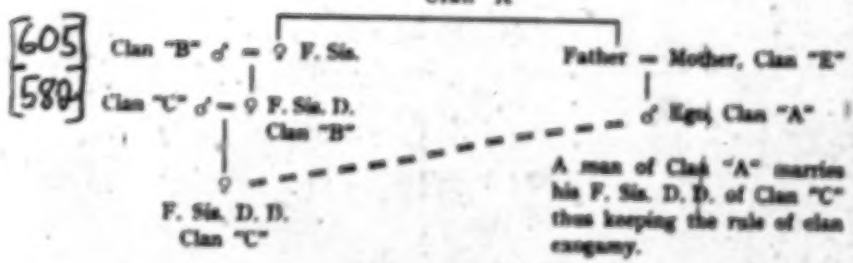
(woman speaking)

A woman calls her children *lakuet*, 'child'; her brother's and sister's children are *sungs*; the children of her mother's brother's children, *akui*; and the children of her mother's sister's children are *eiyo*. The term *sungs* in Nandi means 'sister of a parent', and refers to the father's sister; in Dorobo it is applied to the reciprocal, the brother's son, and is extended to the sister's son. It is also used, as in Nandi, as a term of endearment to small children.

We now return to the children, male and female, of the father's brother's children and of the father's sister's children, all of whom are called *macokor*. According to statements made independently by four different Dorobo elders, a man may marry one of the girls whom he calls *macokor*, that is, his father's sister's daughter's daughter (the daughter of his cross-cousin).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

•601


Clan "A"
[605]
[584]
Clan "B" ♂ — ♀ F. Sis.
Father — Mother, Clan "E"
Clan "C" ♂ — ♀ F. Sis. D. Clan "B"
♂ Egu, Clan "A"
♀
F. Sis. D. D. Clan "C"
A man of Clan "A" marries his F. Sis. D. D. of Clan "C" thus keeping the rule of clan exogamy.

This statement was not supported by any of my genealogies; but this does not necessarily mean that the practice was never followed, and my informants insisted that this type of marriage was not only allowed, but actually took place in the past. On the other hand, they said that marriage with any other kind of cousin within the *tilat* was "very bad". In actual fact, however, marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter was probably not common, even in the past, and to-day would be quite impossible, partly from disparity of age (though this is not in itself a serious bar), and partly from the shortage of women and lack of wealth. If a man was a *Nyongi*, he might be about forty years old, and his *macokor* would be perhaps ten, uninitiated, and too young to cohabit; she would therefore be suitable only as a second wife, a luxury out of the reach of most Dorobo. An equally serious objection lies in the fact that owing to the small number of clans, a man's *macokor* may often be of his own clan and thus barred from marriage with him.

6. The Second Descending Generation

(man speaking)

The term *akui* covers most of this generation: it includes the children of one's own children (grandchildren), children of brother's and sister's children, children of father's brother's grandchildren, and children of father's sister's grandchildren. The children of mother's brother's grandchildren are *mama*, and of the mother's sister's grandchildren, *kesende*. [603] Thus a man's own grandchildren are classed as grandparents.

(woman speaking)

Grandchildren are *apaa*; grandchildren of brother and sister are *senge*, and of mother's sister, *eiyo*; the rest are *akui*.

AFFINALS:

(man speaking)

Wife is *museriat*; wife's brother, *konyit*, and his wife, *pôker*; wife's sister, *pakat*, and her husband, *kipakatiat*. Wife's parents are *pamao* (m.) and *pôker* (f.). Wife's brother's and sister's children are *apaa* (m.) and *pakao* (f.).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

(woman speaking)

Husband is *mamamiat*; husband's brother, *kowyit*, and his wife, *sindat*; husband's sister, *kamati*, and her husband, *pikar*. Husband's parents are *pakuo* (m.) and *pikar* (f.). Husband's brother's children are *lakuat*; and husband's sister's children, *apulaiyo*.

Further etymological notes

Papa occurs in Nandi only as a term of address, the term of reference being *kaan*.

Pikine as an alternative for *siyo*, 'mother's sister', is from the Nandi *pikine* — husband's brother's wife.

Apaa, used for a man's own children and for those of his brother and sister, is probably connected etymologically with the Nandi *apa* — mother's sister's husband, and father's brother's son, the latter being strictly *ar-i-apa*.

Mamiat is a dialect form of Nandi *mamwat*, which is the term applied to a man's pre-marital sweetheart.

Reciprocal Terms

m. s. — man speaking; w. s. — woman speaking; * — used by both sexes.

* *Papa* — father:	*Apaa* — child.
* *Eiyo* — mother:	*Lakuat* — child.
* *Kesenda* — sister:	*Kesenda* — brother.
* *Papa* — father's brother:	*Apaa* — brother's child.
Eiyo — f. br. wife (m. s.):	*Lakuat* — bun. br. child (w. s.).
Sindat — f. br. wife (w. s.):	*Lakuat* — bun. br. child (w. s.).
* *Maseiker* — f. br. child:	*Maseiker* — f. br. child.
Pakuat — f. sis. (m. s.):	*Senge* — br. child (w. s.).
Sindat — f. sis. (w. s.):	*Senge* — br. child (w. s.).
* *Kowyit* — f. sis. bun.:	*Apaa* (m.), *Pakuo* (f.) — wife's br. child.
Maseiker — f. sis. child (m. s.):	*Mama* — m. br. child (m. s.).
Maseiker — f. sis. child (w. s.):	*Apulaiyo* — m. br. child (w. s.).
Mama — m. br. (m. s.):	*Mama* — sis. child (m. s.).
Apulaiyo — m. br. (w. s.):	*Senge* — sis. child (w. s.).
Mama — m. br. wife (m. s.):	*Apulaiyo* — bun. sis. child (w. s.).
Eiyo — m. br. wife (w. s.):	*Apulaiyo* — bun. sis. child (w. s.).
Mama — m. br. child (m. s.):	*Maseiker* — f. sis. child.
Apulaiyo — m. br. child (w. s.):	*Maseiker* — f. sis. child.
* *Eiyo* — mother's sister:	*Senge* — sis. child (w. s.).
Papa — m. sis. bus. (m. s.):	*Apaa* (m), *Pakuo* (f) — w. sis. child.
Kowyit — m. sis. bus. (w. s.):	*Apaa* (m), *Pakuo* (f) — w. sis. child.
Kesenda — m. sis. child (m. s.):	*Kesenda* — m. sis. child.
Eiyo — m. sis. child (w. s.):	*Eiyo* — m. sis. child.
* *Kuko* (*Akui*) — father's father:	*Akui* — son's child (m. s.).
* *Koko* — father's mother:	*Apaa* — son's child (w. s.).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

601

* *Koko* (*Abui*) — mother's father:	*Abui* — daughter's child (w. s.).
* *Koko* — mother's mother:	*Apoo* — daughter's child (w. s.).
Mawuatiat — husband:	*Muweiat* — wife.
Pawuus — wife's father (m. s.):	*Kowyit* — daughter's husband (m. s.).
Piker — wife's mother:	*Piker* — daughter's hus. (w. s.).
Pakuo — hus. father (w. s.):	*Pakuo* — son's wife (m. s.).
Piker — hus. mother (w. s.):	*Sandat* — son's wife (w. s.).
Kowyit — wife's brother (m. s.):	*Kowyit* — sis. hus. (m. s.).
Pakat — wife's sis. (m. s.):	*Kowyit* — sis. hus. (w. s.).
Kowyit — hus. brother (w. s.):	*Pakat* — brother's wife (m. s.).
Kawati — hus. sis. (w. s.):	*Pakat* — brother's wife (w. s.).
Piker — wife's br. wife (m. s.):	*Piker* — hus. sis. hus. (w. s.).
Sindat — hus. br. wife (w. s.):	*Sindat* — hus. br. wife (w. s.).
Kipakatiat — wife's sis. hus.:	*Kipakatiat* — wife's sis. hus.

Terms of Address

The forms given in the foregoing lists are those of reference, used when speaking of a person. In some cases the form used when speaking to a person is the same as the form of reference; but in others there is a difference:

Reference:		or mama	Address:	
imamat			*mama* (m. s.)	
			apalaiyo. (w. s.)	
ingokat			*akui*	
macakor(at)			*macakoroni*	
urogat or *urogo*			*urogo*	
muweiat			*muweiandoni*	
mawuatiat			*mawuatiandoni*	
sindat			*sindoni*	
lakuat			*lakuoni* or *lakuoyoo*	

Other terms have the same form for both reference and address. In this list it will be noted that *mama* and *urogo*, though strictly forms of address, are used by the Dorobo for forms of reference as well. The forms ending in *-ai* are vocative (i. e. the demonstrative pronoun *ai*, 'this', used as vocative). *Lakuoyoo* means 'my child'.

[193]

Grouping of terms

In the following classification of terms, an asterisk * means terms used by both sexes, and (w) means terms used by women.

Macakor

Third ascending generation: father's father's father*, father's father's mother*, mother's father's father*, mother's mother's father*. Own generation: father's brother's son*, father's brother's daughter*, father's sister's son*, father's sister's daughter*. First descending generation: father's brother's children's children*, father's sister's children's children*.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

601

Abui

Second ascending generation: father's father*, mother's father* father's father's brother*, father's father's sister*, mother's father's brother*, mother's father's sister*. First ascending generation: father's father's brother's children*, father's father's sister's children*, mother's father's brother's children*, mother's father's sister's children*. Second descending generation: father's brother's children's children's children*, father's sister's children's children's children*, brother's children's children, sister's children's children, own children's children, mother's brother's children's children's children (w).

Papa

Father*, father's brother*, mother's sister's husband.

Eiyo

First ascending generation: mother*, father's brother's wife, mother's sister*. Own generation: mother's sister's children (w).

Kwenda

Own generation: brother*, sister*, mother's sister's children. First and second descending generations: mother's sister's children's children, mother's sister's children's children's children.

Apua

First and second descending generations: son, daughter, brother's son, brother's daughter, son's children (w), daughter's children (w), wife's brother's son, wife's sister's son.

Sindat

Father's sister (w), father's brother's wife (w), husband's brother's wife (w).

Mama

First ascending generation: mother's brother, mother's brother's wife. Own generation: mother's brother's son and daughter. First and second descending generations: mother's brother's children's children, mother's brother's children's children's children.

Apukuiyo

Mother's brother's wife (w), mother's brother's children (w), husband's sister's children (w).

Songo

Brother's children (w), sister's children (w), brother's children's children (w), sister's children's children (w).

Lakwat

• 601 Son and daughter (w), husband's brother's children (w).

Affinals: *Kenyit*

Father's sister's husband*, mother's sister's husband (w), father's brother's daughter's husband*, father's sister's daughter's husband*, sister's husband*, mother's sister's daughter's husband*, mother's brother's daughter's husband (w), daughter's husband, wife's brother, husband's brother (w).

Pukat

Father's sister, father's brother's son's wife*, father's sister's son's wife*, brother's wife, mother's brother's son's wife*, mother's sister's son's wife*, wife's sister.

Kipukatat

Wife's sister's husband.

Pukan

Son's wife, husband's father, wife's brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter.

Pikar

Daughter's husband (w), wife's mother, husband's mother (w), wife's brother's wife, husband's sister's husband (w).

Sandat: son's wife (w).
Pawaan: wife's father.
Kawaat: husband's sister (w).

The use of kinship terms

[608] In practice kinship terms are used as a form of address and as a method of showing respect to seniors, who acknowledge the respect by using the reciprocal term to the juniors. To illustrate the use of these terms, I have prepared a statement of the relatives of a man named Pilo arap Kaisan of Kiptarakon (Soosiyo group), in which it will be noted that the terms fall into six groups, with one isolated term:

1. *Papa-Eiyo*, in the first ascending generation.
2. *Abai*, the second ascending, first ascending, and second descending generations.
3. *Maaskor*, in the third ascending, own, and first descending generations.
4. *Kwanda*, in own, and first and second descending generations.
5. *Apaa*, in the first descending generation.
6. *Mama*, in the first ascending, own, and first and second descending generations.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

601

The indicial term *pakat* denotes the father's sister. But it is used also for certain affinals, and alternates with the term *kenyit*. It should be noted that:

a) the wife of a *mandet* is always *pakat*;
the husband of a *mandet* is always *kenyit*;
the wife of a *kwanda* is always *pakat*;
the husband of a *kwanda* is always *kenyit*;
the wife of a *mama* (own gen.) is always *pakat*;
the husband of a *mama* (own gen.) is always *kenyit*;
but, the wife of *mama*, the mother's brother, is always *mama*.

b) the spouses of *akui*, when the term refers to people other than the father's father, mother's father, father's mother, and mother's mother, are all *akui*.

This is the genealogy of Pilo arap Katam, with the terms used by himself and his sister Kiroti:

Third ascending generation:

			Called by Pilo:		Called by Kiroti:	
1	PPP.	MUNTAYAN m. Tiwosi	MACOMOM	*cmakikut*	MACOMOM	*cmakikut*

Second ascending generation:

2	PP.	KIMNGAMNGAM m. Cosungut	KUKO AKUI	*kuko*	KUKO AKUI	*kuko*
3	PPSis.	LEMANSO m. (unknown).	AKUI	*akui*	AKUI	*akui*
4	PPSis.	Kikiwo m. RIPANYA.	*akui*	AKUI	*akui*	AKUI
5	MP.	MEMEWA m. (unknown)	AKUI	*kuko*	AKUI	*kuko*

First ascending generation:

6	F.	KIPKATAM m. Kosorio	PAPA	*ciyo*	PAPA	*ciyo*
7	FBr.	KIPTOO m. (unknown)	PAPA	*ciyo*	PAPA	*cimdet*
8	FBr.	KACILA m. Nandoiyo.	PAPA	*ciyo*	PAPA	*cimdet*
9	FSis.	Cepuljoi m. TURIRPUKU.	*pakat*	KONYIT	*cimdet*	KONYIT
10	FBr.	CEPTUI unmarried	PAPA	—	PAPA	—
11	FFBr.	son of 5, and wife	AKUI	*akui*	AKUI	*akui*
12	FFSis.	dau. of 4, Tapimpingoi.	*akui*	AKUI	*akui*	AKUI
13	MBr.	NEKOI m. Seruiot.	MAMA	*mama*	APULAIYO	*ciyo*
14	MSis.	(unknown) m. SASUTIK.	*ciyo*	PAPA	*ciyo*	KONYIT

Own generation:

15	Br.	COIMUR m. Cepkoior.	KESENDA	*pakat*	KESENDA	*pakat*
16	Sis.	Ceimbur m. (unknown).	*kwanda*	KONYIT	*kwanda*	KONYIT
17	Sis.	Kiroti m. MANYEPAI.	*kwanda*	KONYIT	—	[illegible]

All Manyepai's relatives are outside the *ilkiat* to Pilo, but his Br., sis., f., and m. are inside it for *Kiroti*, though his M. and mam. are not.

18	dau. of 7, Cepkemoi m. (unknown)	*mandet*	KONYIT	*mandet*	KONYIT
19	dau. of 7, Cereis m. (unknown).	*mandet*	KONYIT	*mandet*	KONYIT
20	s. o. 8, LEIJI m. (unknown).	MACOMOM	*pakat*	MACOMOM	*pakat*
21	dau. of 8, Cepkumurwa m. KIMOPO.	*mandet*	KONYIT	*mandet*	KONYIT

All Kimopo's relatives are outside the *ilkiat* to Pilo.

601

22 s. o. 9, KIPKOIRC, unmarried.		MACOKOR	—	MACOKOR	—
23 s. o. 12, KIPSERIEM	and their children outside the *ilkiet*	—	—	—	—
24 s. o. 11, KIPLENGE		—	—	—	—
25 s. o. 11, Arap LEMANDO		—	—	—	—
26 s. o. 18, KIPURPUR, unmarried		MAMA	—	APULAIYO	—
27 dau. of 13, Cepketai m. KILANYA.		mama	KONYIT	apukiyo	KONYIT
28 s. o. 14, KIKOROR m. (unknown).		KESENDA	pukot	EIYO	pukot
29 s. o. 14, TOTE m. Kimeyan.		KESENDA	pukot	EIYO	pukot

First descending generation:

30 s. o. PILO: KIPKURKAT	APAA	SENGE	
31 s. o. PILO: KIMAIYO	APAA	SENGE	
32 dau. of 15, Cemerandei	apaa	senge	
33 s. o. 16, POIYO	MAMA	SENGE	
34 dau. of 16, Cepkemlui	mama	senge	
35 dau. of 17, Cepitok	mama	lakuet	
36 s. o. 27, KIPROTIC	MAMA	AKUI	
37 dau. of 27, Tepkeny	mama	akui	
38 dau. of 27, Ndito	mama	akui	
39 dau. of 28, Kimpaun	kesenda	eiyo	
40 dau. of 28, Nariare	kesenda	eiyo	
41 dau. of 28, Cepukoko	kesenda	eiyo	
42 dau. of 29, Kendakor	kesenda	eiyo	
43 dau. of 18, Tapitol	macokor	macokor	
44 dau. of 18, Ceptum	macokor	macokor	
45 dau. of 18, Cepkoino	macokor	macokor	
46 s. o. 21, KIPROTIC	MACOKOR	MACOKOR	
47 s. o. 21, KIPTUMA	MACOKOR	MACOKOR	
48 s. o. 21, TIONGOI	MACOKOR	MACOKOR	
49 dau. of 21, Situni	macokor	macokor	
50 dau. of 21, not yet named (1939).	macokor	macokor	

(*Note*: Males in CAPITALS, females in small type. 'Unknown' means that the person's name was unknown to or forgotten by my informants. m. = married.)

601
593

Pilo's immediate contacts are with people of the ***papa-eiyo***, ***kesenda***, and ***apaa*** groups, for he lives at Kiptarakon with his aged and infirm father and his married brother Coimim. Pilo always speaks of his father as ***papa***, and treats him with great respect, kindness, and gentleness. Coimim is his younger brother, and though of a junior age-set (*Maina*, while Pilo is *Nyongi*) * is now married and a father, and so is on terms of more or less equality with Pilo. They address each other by name, but usually refer to one another as ***kesenda*** — ***mii kesendannyon ka***, "my brother is at home", rather than ***mii ka Coimim***, in answer to a question as to his whereabouts. His own and Coimim's children Pilo calls by name though he often addresses them as ***apaa*** by way of instruction. His two sisters Kicoti and Ceimbar are both married and live not far away in Nandi. The former is the eldest of the four and was married to a Kimnyike now dead; Ceimbar married

[561]

* The names *Kimnyike*, *Nyongi*, *Maina* are those of age-sets, which form an important element in social behaviour, and will be described in detail later on (p. 30).

4:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1951 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

a Nandi, and her husband is spoken of with less respect than Kiruti's, though both men are referred to as *konyit*. Their children are called *mama*.

His father's sister Cepulpul and her husband Turiepuku are both dead, and if he speaks of them it is by the terms *pukat* and *konyit*; but her son Kipkoiec is, as *macakor*, on the same footing as Leii and Kimaiyo, the sons of his father's elder brother Kaola, allowing for the difference of age-set. Pilo is a *Nyongi*, as also is Leii; but Kimaiyo is a *Maina*. On the other hand, Kimaiyo is a policeman, which somewhat outweighs the difference. Cepkemoi and Cerob, the daughters of Pilo's father's younger brother Kiptoo have lessened themselves to a certain extent in old-fashioned Dorobo eyes by marrying Nandi (though Dorobo-Nandi marriage has been practised for a long time), and they live at a distance. The wife of Leii and the husband of Cepkumuren, Pilo's other *macakor*, are both Dorobo, and although they live near the forest, there is a good deal of intercourse between their families. All these people are spoken of as *macakorennyon*, and addressed as *macakoronni*, *macakor*, or by name. Their spouses are spoken of as *konyit*. Though Kimopo Arap Mining, the husband of Cepkumuren, is *konyit* to Pilo, his relatives are outside the *tiliet* as far as Pilo himself is concerned (though not of course for Cepkumuren), and this applies also to the relatives of his sisters' husbands; such people when on terms of friendship and visiting are addressed and referred to by name, or they may be spoken to by the word *leiye*, a general term of address to any person of either sex with whom one is friendly. An old woman like Cesikirikat, Arap Mining's mother (not named in the genealogy), would not be addressed as *leiye*, however, but as *koko* "grandmother" or *cepiosonni*, "old woman", though not related in any way, but out of respect because Pilo is a friend of Arap Mining, and often meets his relatives, including Cesikirikat.

Kaola and Kiptoo, the brother's of Pilo's father, lived for many years at Cepkunyuk, four miles from Kiptarakon, close to and inside the boundary of the Nandi Reserve; but in 1939 they went to live in Sosoiyo near the forest. At that time, both of them were more active than their brother Kipkatam (Pilo's father) who, if he had been a European, would have been described as "bed-ridden"; and for practical purposes Kaola took the place of a father to Pilo and his brothers and sisters. Kipkatam was deaf, nearly blind, almost speechless, and hardly able to move; so when Pilo wanted to consult anyone, he turned to Kaola, or if he was away, to the slightly younger Kiptoo.

It will be seen that a sister's children are not *apaa*, like a brother's, but *mama*. Pilo's sister's children are a typical case. They live at a distance, and so are as remote from him as all the descendants of his mother's brother (*mama*) Nekoi who, with his wife and his son in law Kilanya and his family, lives at Ngatepkong on the far side of the forest and has little to do with Pilo. Moreover, the only link between Pilo and Nekoi, his mother Keuarie, is there no longer, for she died some years ago; so Nekoi and his family are just spoken of as *mama* — when it is necessary to speak of them at all, for though they exist they count very little in Pilo's life.

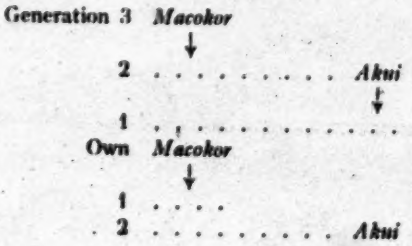
Between Pilo and his brother Coimim there is a good deal of inter-

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

593 [888] course. They live in the same settlement, they are *papa* to each other's children, they both look after old Kipkatam, and they have the joint responsibility of feeding him as well as their own families. They are *kesenda* in name and in fact. But the existence of a remoter *kesenda* group, the children [605] of the mother's sister, shows how the term may mislead if the circumstances are not known and if it is not realized how much depends on proximity. Both their mother's sister's sons Kikoror and Tote live on the other side of the country at Ngatepkong, and Kikoror moreover dwells inside the forest; between them and Pilo intercourse is rare, and relationship might not exist. In practice, of course, Pilo would refer to them as *kesendannyon* and would greet them as *kesenda* or by name; but in the absence of proximity the intercourse would be limited to mere greeting.

602 The *akui* group includes three sets of people: (A) parents of father and mother; (B) father's father's brother and sister and their children; and (C) all of the second descending generation except the great grandchildren of the mother's brother and sister.

603 (A) The senior *akui* at the time when I collected the genealogies which form the basis of this study were all dead. The real *akui* are the father's 601 father and the mother's father (their wives being *koko*), and these two are often referred to as *kuko* as well as *akui*. When Pilo said, "My *akui* was Kimngamngam", or "my *akui* was Mereua", his statement was amplified by saying who they were: *akui ko papa nepo papa, kuko ko papa nepo eiyo*, "*akui* is the father of my father, *kuko* is the father of my mother". (B) But the brother's and sisters of the *kuko* or *koko* (none were recorded on the maternal side) are referred to as *akui* by courtesy, and this courtesy is extended to their children (people of father's generation) but not to lower generations. So Arap Lemando was merely *leiye* or "Arap Lemando" to Pilo, though his father and grandfather were *akui*; and between Pilo and Arap Lemando there was no relationship. (C) The third descending generation, the children of Pilo, his brother's children, his sister's children, and those of his father's brother, and his father's sister, are all *akui* also; but no descendant of the mother's brother or sister is called *akui*. This term, it will be seen, has a symmetrical alternation from the second ascending to the second descending generation, that is, from grandfather to grandson; *macokor* has an asymmetrical alternation from the third ascending generation to own's own, being extended in both cases to the next generation below:



4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

603

The senior *macokor* are seldom alive in a man's lifetime, and all those in the 3rd ascending generation were dead before Pilo was born. The terms therefore are merely of reference, and that this is so is emphasized by the word *makikat*, "one who is not greeted".

601 ●

On the right hand side of the genealogy of Pilo are given the terms used by his elder sister Kicoti, who married a Dorobo of the *Kimnyiko* age named Manyepai, where we find additional groups:

The first ascending generation is now divided into two: (A) the father of Kicoti, his brothers and sister and their spouses, who are *papa* and *sindet*; and (B) her mother, her mother's sister and her children, grandchildren and great grandchildren, and her mother's brother's wife, all of whom are *eiyo*. (A female *eiyo*'s husband is *konyit*, and a male *eiyo*'s wife is *pukot*, except that Seratet, the mother's brother, is *apulaiyo*.) The father's sister has the same term as his brother's wife, *sindet*.

Kicoti calls her brother and sister *kesenda*, just as Pilo calls her *kesenda*; but whereas Pilo calls his own and Coimim's children *apaa*, and the children of both his sisters, *mama*, Kicoti calls her own children *lakuet* and those of her brothers and sister *senge*, and the grandchildren and great grandchildren of her mother's sister *eiyo* (which latter Pilo calls *kesenda*).

The mother's brother group is called by four terms instead of one, and the mother's brother himself and his children are not *mama* but *apulaiyo*; his grandchildren and great grandchildren are *akui*; and Kicoti's sister's children are *senge*, while her own are *lakuet*: all these are called *mama* by Pilo.

The two brothers of Manyepai, for whom Pilo has no term (he would refer to them as *poiyot*, "old man", and if necessary define their position) are called *konyit* by Kicoti, and the wife of Kimôken her husband's brother is *sindet*. Her husband's father and mother are *pakuo* and *pôker*, though outside the *tiliet* for Pilo. Her husband's father's father is outside the *tiliet* for her. As regards the use of *konyit* and *pukot* for spouses, the female terminology is the same as the male for *macokor* and *kesenda*, but

the wife of an *apulaiyo* (m. br.) is always *eiyo*;
the wife of an *apulaiyo* (own generation) is always *pukot*;
the husband of an *apulaiyo* (own. gen) is always *konyit*;
the wife of an *eiyo* is always *pukot*; and
the husband of an *eiyo* (except own mother) is always *konyit*.

Contrast with the Nandi system

601
171

The Dorobo relationship system is much less regular than that of the Nandi, and has a greater mixture of terms. Moreover it includes a greater number of people than the Nandi, which counts the following as outside the *tiliet*:

A. Father's mother's brothers and sisters and their children (Dorobo, *akui*).
B. Mother's parents' brothers and sisters and their children (Dorobo, *akui*).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

601 191

C. Children and grandchildren of mother's brother's son and daughter (Dorobo, *mama*).

D. Children and grandchildren of mother's sister's son and daughter (Dorobo, *kesenda*).

A Nandi, therefore, may marry any person in groups C and D provided they are not of his clan.

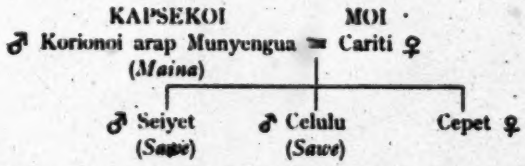
The children of the father's brother and father's sister are *tupet* and *mama* in Nandi, and their children are *lakuet* and *akui*; whereas in Dorobo all are called *macokor*. The marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter is not allowed in Nandi, where there is no relaxation of the rule against marriage within the *tilist*. But, on the other hand, the Nandi has a certain number of people who are biologically related to him though not classed as relatives, and therefore potential wives. The Nandi say that there are really no terms for the third ascending generation, as a man never sees them; but if it should be necessary to speak of them, the terms *kuko* (masc.) and *senge* (fem.) are used, whereas the corresponding Dorobo terms are *macokor* and *makikat*.

III. The Family and Behaviour

1. Family life

594 Dorobo life and social structure are based on the elementary family within the clan, the family being a unit consisting of father, mother, and children. The elementary family is sometimes enlarged into the domestic 596 family, which is a group of people based on an elementary family living in one homestead and containing more than one parent, i. e. an elementary family with one or both of the husband's parents. A further development is the extended patrilocal family, where two or more elementary families related by genealogy or adoption live together as a defined unit.

594 A typical elementary family living in the forest in Sosoiyo was the following, consisting of a man, his wife, and their three children[*]:



596 A domestic family living on the edge of the forest at Timopo comprised the following people: a man, his mother, his wife, and his children:

[*] In the genealogical diagrams, words in capitals indicate clans, and words in brackets age-sets.

[P. 184, B]

The social structure of the Dorobo is based on clan-solidarity, the clans being patrilineal, partially patrilocal, and exogamous. The clan-names, as well as the age-set names, and many of the relationship terms, are of Nandi origin; but here the resemblance ends, and it is seen that the social structure is unlike that of the Nandi. The whole life and outlook of the people is, in fact, dissimilar. There is no doubt that living in and in close contact with a forest produces a considerable effect on people, which differentiates them from those who live in open country; and the influence of the forest is felt particularly by the children. Peculiar factors of forest life, which obviously cannot occur in open country, are:

1. The homestead is set in a small clearing, just large enough to hold two or three huts.

2. The continual presence of large trees, inescapable when the children are young.

[P.185, A]

Physical influences, too, must be taken into account. The average rainfall in the North Tindiret forest is over 56 inches per annum, and the highest recorded rainfall in one year is 70 inches. During several months of the year the forest is very damp and sunless; mists are frequent, and there is considerable cold as well as frost.[1] All this will affect character as well as the rate of infant mortality. 132 [155] [165]

II

THE BASIS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

A. Kinship.

Many of the relationship terms are borrowed from Nandi, but the system is not the same, as the following analysis will show. 601 [177]

Functional analysis of terms: ♂ speaking (M.S.)

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F., M.=*BABA, eiyo.*

(2) M.Br., M.Br.W.=*MAMA, mama.*

(3) M.Sis., M.Sis. H.=*eiyo, BABA,* as F. and M.

(4) F. Br., F. Br. W.=*BABA, eiyo.* "The F.Br. is the same as a man's father," say the Dorobo.

(5) F.Sis.=*pukot,* a term applied also to the wives of F.Br.S., F.Sis.S., Br., M.Sis. S., and to W. Sis. It implies that all the women so called come into the same category of respect as the F.Sis.

(6) F. Sis. H.=*kowyit,* i.e. brother-in-law,

[1] So the Dorobo tell me: I never saw any myself, though I have seen frost in other parts of the highlands of Kenya. [114]

[P185,B]

applied also to the husbands of F. Br. D., F.Sis.D., Sis., M.Br. D., M.Sis.D., and to W.Br. It is therefore the male equivalent of *pukot*. [601]

Second Ascending Generation.

(1) F.F., F.M., and M.F., M.M.=*KUKO, koko*, and also *AGWI, agwi*, the latter applied by courtesy to F.F.Br., M.F.Br., F.F.Sis., M.F.Sis., and their children.

Third Ascending Generation.

(1) F.F.F., F.F.M., F.M.F., F.M.M., M.F.F., M.F.M., M.M.F., M.M.M.=*MACHOKOR, makikat.*

Ego's own Generation.

(1) Br., Sis., M.Sis.S., M.Sis.D.=*KESENDA, Kesenda*, linking these two groups in a br.—sis. relationship.

(2) M.Br. S., M.Br. D.=*MAMA, mama*, as M.Br.

(3) F.Br. S., F.Br. D., F.Sis. S., F.Sis.D.=*MACHOKOR, machokor.*

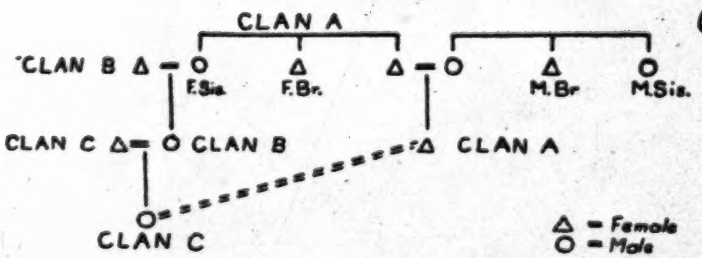
There is here a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, the former being linked with 3rd ascending and 1st descending generations, the latter with one's brothers and sisters. [605]

First Descending Generation.

(1) Children both ♂ and ♀ of F.Br.S. and D. and of F.Sis. S. and D. are *MACHOKOR*, the same as their parents. According to Dorobo statements, a man is allowed to marry his F. Sis. D.D.—his *machokor*—, but no other woman whom he calls by a relationship term. [582]

[P.185, C]

582
601
614



THEORETICAL MARRIAGE WITH ESis.DD.

This statement is not supported by any of my genealogies, but this does not necessarily mean it has never occurred, and my informants were unanimous in asserting it. A man can therefore in theory marry his classificatory grand-daughter; he would not be likely to do so in fact on account of the shortage of women, and the lack of wealth. [595]

582 602

[Text continues top of P. 186, B-Analysis]

(2) Ego's S. and D., and Br. S. and D.= *APAA, apaa.* 601

(3) Children both ♂ and ♀ of Sis., and of M. Br. S.=*MAMA, mama,* placing them in the M.Br. category, an unusual feature, since the Nandi (and ? Masae) group M.Br. and M.Br. S. together, but have no term for M. Br. S.S., who is outside the *tiliet* or relationship.

(4) M.Br.D.S. and D.=*MAMA, mama,* again different from the Nandi, who regard them as outside the *tiliet.*

(5) Children both ♂ and ♀ of M.Sis. S. and D.= *KESENDA, Kesenda,* placing them in the same category as Br., Sis., and M.Sis.S, and D.

Second Descending Generation.

(1) Son's S. and D., Dau's S. and D.= *AGWI, agwi,* i.e. they call ego *agwi*=grandfather; and all of this generation are *agwi* to ego, i.e. all children of *machokor, apaa,* and *mama,* though not of M.Sis.S.S., who are *kesenda.*

[Text continues middle of P. 186, B--Analysis]

[P.186,B]

for if, e.g. a man was forty years old, and his *machohor* was only ten, he could marry her only as a second wife, a luxury which few Dorobo can attain. And again, owing to the small number of clans, the F.Sis. D.D. is often of the same clan, and so barred from marriage, as in the following case:

582 602 [595]

Functional analysis of terms : ♀ speaking. (W.S.)

601

First Ascending Generation.

(1) F.Br., M.Sis. are ***BABA***, *eiyo*, the same as when a man is speaking.

(2) M.Br.=***APULAIYO***, <Masae *apula*, <*apu*, M.Br. (M.S.); M.Br.W.=*eiyo* as M.S.

(3) M.Sis.Hus.=***KONYIT***, the ordinary term for a male relative by marriage, i.e. "husband," and applied also to the same other catagories as M.S.

(4) F.Sis., F.Br.W.=*Sindet*.

Terms for second and third ascending generations are the same as M.S.

Ego's own Generation.

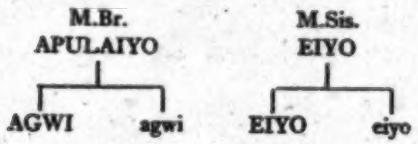
As when M.S., there is a distinction between the paternal and maternal sides. The children of F.Br. and F.Sis. are all grouped as ***MACHOKOR***, *machohor*, while on on the maternal side we have :—

[602]

(1) M.Br.S. and D.=***AGWI***, *agwi*.

(2) M.Sis.S. and D.=***EIYO***, *eiyo* :—

601



W.S.

(3) Br., Sis.=*KESENDA*, *kesenda*.

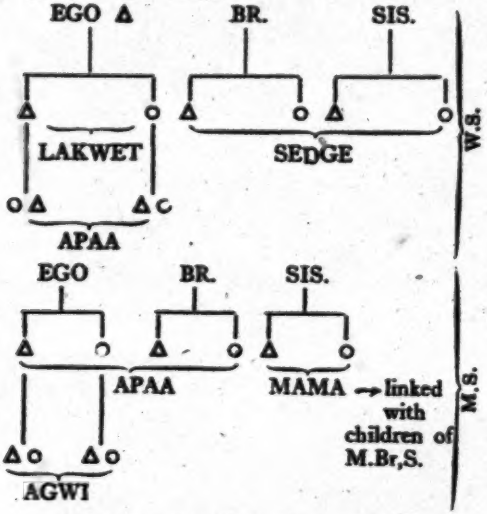
First Descending Generation.

(1) Children of *MACHOKOR* are also *MACHOKOR*.

(2) Ego's children ♂ and ♀=*LAKWET*, *Lakwet*.

(3) Children ♂ and ♀ of Br., Sis.=*SEDGE*, *sedge*.

When W.S., children of this generation are grouped differently:



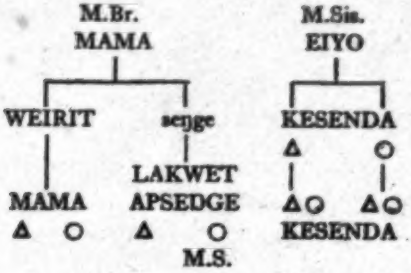
Second Descending Generation.

(1) Children both ♂ and ♀ of S. and D.=*APAA*, *apaa*, transferred from first descending generation M.S.

Linguistic Analysis of Relationship Terms.

BABA=F., F.Br., M.Sis.H. Allied to Masae *papa*, Bari *baba*, and probably to Ndi *apa* (Gala *aba*), all meaning 'father.' [197]

601 ●



MAMA=M.Br., M.Br.W. Ndi *mama*, and possibly akin to Bari *mana-ye*. 601 197

EIYO=M., M.Sis., F.Br.W. Nandi *eiyo*, Masae *yeiyo*, and in most of the Nandi dialects for "mother." An occasional alternative for *eiyo* in Dorobo is *POKINE*, which in Nandi means Hus.Br.W.

AGWI=F.Br., his children and grandchildren. Nandi *agwi*, Masae *ol-akwi*='grandfather.' Cf. Bari *akwe* < *kwe*, 'head.'

KOKO=F.M., M.M. Nandi and Masae *koko*, 'old woman,' i.e. grandmother. And cf. Masae *eng-ŏgho*, old woman.

PUKOT=F.Sis. This might be from a stem occurring in Bari *puk*, 'germinate,' but I think it is more likely to be a remnant of the original Dorobo terminology.

KONYIT=F.Sis.H. etc. Nandi *konyit* means 'honour,' and cf. the Masae term *e-sindani e-anyit*, 'respected sister in law,'=Br.W. and W.Sis.

KUKO=F.F., M.F. Nandi *kuko* is the masc. form of *koko*, and hence='old man,' i.e. grandfather, like Nandi *inguget*, *ingoget*, the reference forms for *kuko*, *koko*.

MACHOKOR=F.F.F. etc. Nandi *machokor* =S.S. and S.D. The etymology may be Luo *chokore*, 'collect,' hence it would signify 'a collection of relatives.'

MAKIKAT=F.F.M. etc. Not a Nandi term, but perhaps of Nandi origin, i.e. *ma-ki-ikat*, "They are not greeted," because though their names are known, none are ever alive in ego's life-time.

KESENDA=Br., Sis., M.Sis.S. and D. Nandi dialect for Br., Sis., the true Nandi being *tupchet*. Possibly < Nandi *kesen*, 'carry a

[P.188,A]

child,' it being one of the duties of a young girl to carry her small brother or sister. 601 197

APAA=children of ego and ego's Br. May be connected etymologically with Nandi *apa* =M.Sis.H., F.Br.S. (*ar'-t'-apa,*) meaning 'father,' and used elliptically in Dorobo to mean '(children of) father.'

APULAIYO=M.Br. <Masae *apula* <*apu*.

SINDET=F.Sis., F.Br.W. <item found in Masae *e-sindani*, 'sister in law.' *Sindet* (W.S.) is thus the equivalent of *puko* (M.S.) and must mean 'one to whom respect is due.'

The Dorobo normally live in family groups, either one or more elementary families or domestic families[1] forming an extended family, or one or more elementary or domestic families of fellow clansmen, e.g.: 59

1. (a) *Fraternal group: three brothers*

D.F.	E.F.	E.F.
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)	(*Hut 3*)
E. Br.	2 Br.	Y. Br.
+ F. or M.		

1. (b) *Extended patrilocal family*

E.F.	E.F.
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)
F. and M.	E. son, wife, and children

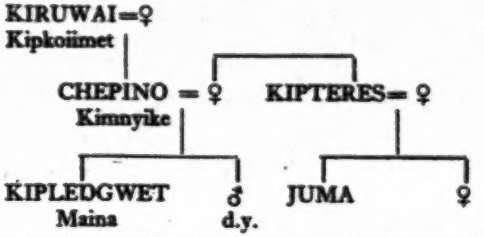
2. *Clan group*

E.F.	E.F.	
(*Hut 1*)	(*Hut 2*)	(*Hut 3*)
Man and wife	Man and wife	♀ Mother of 1

The people under whose influence a child will come are thus: in (1) (a): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, F.Br., F.Br.W., with F.Br. S. and D. as associates. In (1) (b): F., M., F.F., and F.M. In (2): F., M., one of the 2nd ascending generation, with clansmen as associates. The people normally responsible for the bringing up 602 [855]

[1] Definitions of "family":
Elementary family=F., M., and children. (E.F.)
Domestic family=a group of people living together in one house or steading, if based on an elementary family, e.g. one husband, two wives, and the children of each wife. (D.F.)
Extended family=a group of families related by genealogy or adoption living together as a defined unit, e.g. Father, and son and his wives and children form a patrilocal extended family. (Ext. F.)

and education of children may be grouped according to the amount of influence they exert; and as primary authorities are to be included: F., M., F.Br., F.Br. W., F.F., F.M; as secondary authorities, M.Br., M.Br.W., F.Sis., F.Sis. H., M.Sis., M.Sis.H., and *tilionutik* (relations) in the persons of clansmen living in the group. The M.Br. does not occupy the same place with regard to a child that he does in Nandi. He does not live in the same group, whereas the F.Br. frequently does, and so the F.Br. has the greater influence on the child. Many Dorobo, in fact, have had little or nothing to do with their M.Br., and some do not even know their names. In the following Kelpui genealogy,



Kipleggwet had hardly ever seen Kipteres, and could not even remember his name, till another person told him. Juma similarly did not know the name of his M.Br.

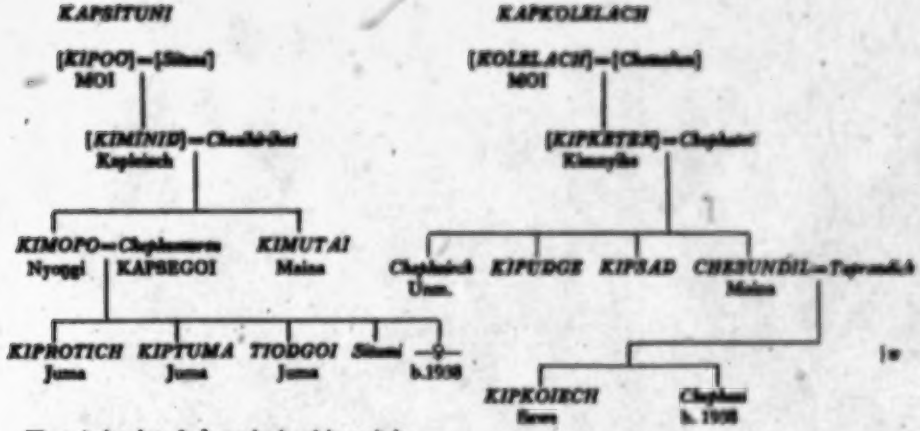
The relationship system of the Dorobo thus differs from the Nandi, especially in the following:

(1) Children of F.Br. and F.Sis. are classed as *MACHOKOR.*
(2) Children of M.Sis. are classed with Br. and Sis. as *KESENDA.*
(3) Children of ego and his Br. are classed as *APAA.*
(4) Children of M.Br. and ego's Sis. are classed as *MAMA.*
(5) Children in the 2nd descending generation are *AGWI.*
(6) The F.Br. takes the place of M.Br.

B. Age-sets and behaviour patterns.

The Dorobo have seven age-sets, *ipinda*, pl. *ipinuagik*, with three age-grades in each sex. These sets are borrowed from the Nandi, and have the same 15-year intervals, and the same three sub-divisions.

[P 195]



Those in brackets [ ] are dead. ♂ in capitals.

GENEALOGY OF TWO EXTENDED FAMILIES, UNRELATED BUT OF THE SAME CLAN, LIVING IN ONE SETTLEMENT AT KIPUKWA.

1. Those in italics are living at Kipukwa (i.e. in 1938).
2. The Kapsituni family take their name from a woman. (Kap- here means 'family of.')
3. This table also illustrates age-descent (ipinda), ages being written in roman script, Maina.

Ist Huntingford E.S (1938-1939) 1942 FLS Dorobo FLS
601
614

TABLE OF DOROBO RELATIONSHIP TERMS: I A SPEAKING

[Page] 601

TABLE OF DOROBO RELATIONSHIP TERMS: ♂ ♀ SPEAKING

MALES in capitals
FEMALES in small letters

H. Huntingford E-S (1888-1939) 1932 FILE Dorobo FLA

[P. 196]

601

/238 cont./

539 533 An overheard text is: "If I were a bird that is sitting beside the river and a zebra came to drink, I would, in the little bird's place, kiss (or bite) it, because I love it very much. But I am big and therefore can not."

512 Around ten o'clock at the latest the merriment reaches its end, and the camp is finally wrapped in silence.

825 The statement of the Wandorobo, according to which it is still supposed to have never happened that human beings have been killed by predatory animals within the camp seems remarkable. They [189] therefore do not fear them at all and believe themselves safe from them because of their magic medicines, some of which, according to popular belief, keep the wild animals far away, while others have the effect of the cap of invisibility.

III.

• 601 Kinship designations and terms of address.

The kinship designations are the following:

Father: aba or baba.
Mother: jëjo or ga.
My wife: mai totuan.
My brother: bidjog uan.
My sister: bidjot uan.
Half brother: weku baba.
Half sister: wetu baba.
Brother of the father: bidjog e baba.
Sister of the father: bidjot baba.
Brother of the mother: bidjog ga.
Sister of the mother: bidjot ga.
Son of the father's brother: weku bidjog baba.
Son of the father's sister: weku bidjot baba.
Daughter of the father's brother: wetu bidjog baba.
Daughter of the father's sister: wetu bidjot baba.
Son of the mother's brother: weku agogesch.
Son of the mother's sister: weku bidjot ga.

/238 cont./

• 601 Son of my brother: msumbetog bidjog uan.
msumbetog bidjogesch.
Daughter of my brother: wetu bidjogesch.
Son of my sister: weku bidjot uan.
Daughter of my sister: wetu bidjesch.
Grandfather: agoija.
/239/ Grandmother: a mama.
Father-in-law: roiagesch.
Mother-in-law: ratotuan.
The terms of address for relatives are:
Father: aba or baba.
Mother: jējo or ea.
Wife: mai.
Stepmother: ea.
Son: msumbetog (pl. msumbe).
Daughter: illeto (pl. illug).
Grandfather: akuja.
Grandmother: akuja, koko, a mama.
Father-in-law: ba-geteñ.
Brother: bidjogesch, ba-suben.
Half brother: bidjoguan, ba-suben.
Sister: bidjesch.
Half sister: bidjot uan.
Uncle: agogesch.
Aunt: ea.
Mother-in-law: ba-ger.
Brother-in-law: ba-suben.
Sister-in-law: balelo.

593 The head of the family is the family father, who has the same
171 rights as among the Masai.

For the Masai terms of address eraijo, engĭjo, abula and araba,
601 the Asá have the words ego-ea, eto-ea, agogesch, and arāmó
171 (see p. 56).

/240 cont./

583 [439] are bought from the Masai for ivory, and finally half of the meat of a slain female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bridegroom a beehive apiece. Instead of the beehives the parents-in-law in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact with the Masai, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the [601] bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ba-geteñ, bridegroom and mother-in-law ba-ger, bridegroom and the brothers of the bride ba-suben, according to ancient Masai custom.

583 587 For beauties no higher price is paid. For a childless widow the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; instead, however, 583 the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride. [584] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothed persons dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as hunter for the remainder owed.

584 If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship, he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment. The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a [784] rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said /241/ to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment [583] of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens [171] that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among the Masai -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

837 Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from it. The woman does not remain with the other man for longer than a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she returns to her husband.

582 171 Among the Asá the same marriage obstacles hold as among the Masai, but the great distances between the individual tiny camps